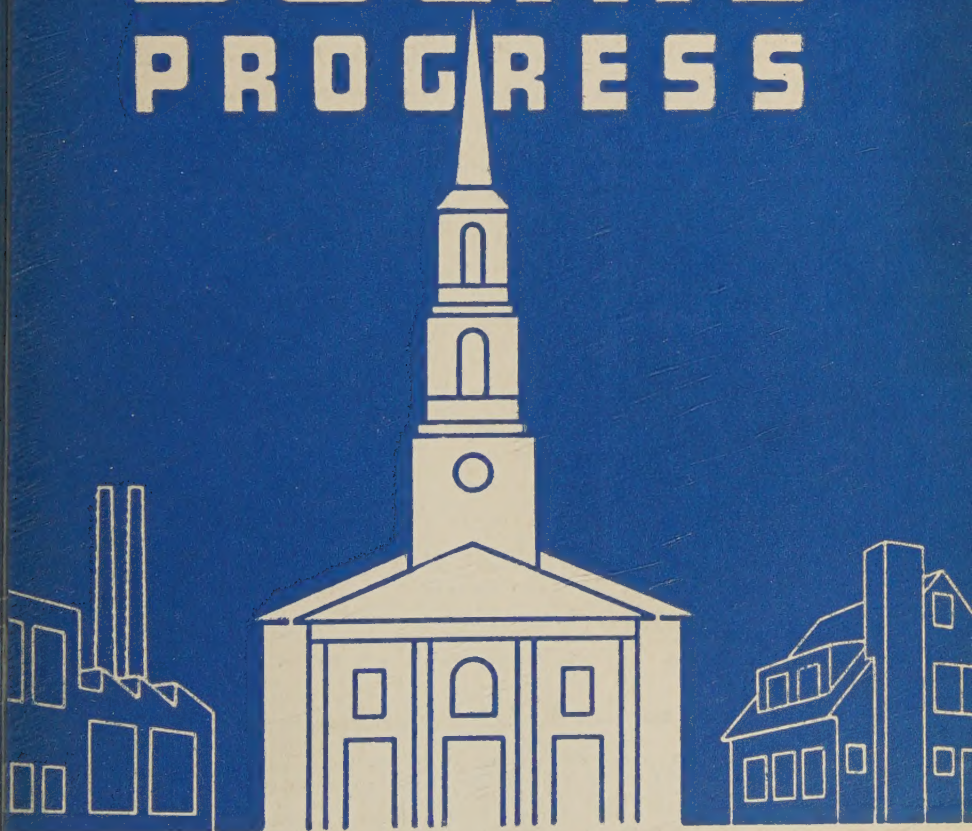


SOCIAL PROGRESS



Christianity—Solvent of World Conflict
The Negro in American Democracy
Every Sentiment Grows

SAMPLE COPY

JANUARY 1943

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Social Progress

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That Someday Men Be Free *

*I bear raw sores so long man feels the knout,
And tend them, too: I must be with him there,
No walls can shut me in and shut him out,
I am his keeper and his prisoner.*

*When he is broken by the hammerhead
Of wrong, I too am broken and his pain
Is mine, and mine the blood that has been shed,
I have no peace while Abel has his Cain.*

*I in his stead and for the common good
Must carry on that someday he be free,
His cries sound a mad tumult in my blood,
In every pore his kinship burns for me.*

—Alex R. Schmidt

* From *Opportunity—A Journal of Negro Life*. June, 1942. Reprinted with permission.

Christianity—Solvent of World Conflict

*By John Foster Dulles**

MOST men today seek to be practical and realistic. Life and death problems press upon them. They want to solve these problems and they do not want to withdraw from the world merely to cultivate their souls. Too much do laymen conceive that devout Christianity means the latter course.

That was, for many years, my own attitude. I was intensely interested in international problems. It never occurred to me that Christianity could play any vital part in their solution. It was only after twenty-five years of active international experience that I became aware of the essential contribution which Christianity could make.

When, in the decade of the thirties, events began to shape toward another world war, I reviewed my experiences of the preceding years, seeking to find the causes of failure. I then perceived that the failures of which I had been a witness, and to some extent a part, were basically due to precisely those defects of soul and mind which Christ had sought to eradicate. Frustration had resulted because men were blinded by their deification of their own state, by self-righteousness and hypocrisy,

and by hatred and vengefulness. That was the root of the trouble.

The most revealing experience I had was in the spring of 1937. I had presided at Paris over one of the biennial meetings of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, held under the auspices of the League of Nations. Leading scholars and students of international affairs had come together to study the problem of "peaceful change." The conference was wholly barren. The delegates, while they did not officially represent their national states, were nevertheless so permeated with extreme nationalism, so obsessed with belief in their own national virtues and in the vices of others, that it was impossible to secure any open-minded discussion of the great problem of how, in a world which is living and therefore changing, change could peacefully be effected.

I went directly from that conference to the Oxford Conference on Church and State. This, like the Paris conference, was made up of delegates from many nations, races, and creeds. But in the Christian atmosphere that pervaded that conference, it was possible to discuss frankly and see the way to solve problems which the Paris conference had not even admitted to exist.

Thereby were revealed to me the

* Chairman of the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

enormous practical potentialities of Christianity. I saw Christ's life and ministry in a new light. I recalled that Christ had lived at a time when international and social problems existed in aggravated form. The relations of nations were determined by force and much of the world was under the heel of a military dictator. In the face of that situation, Christ constantly urged the importance of visions that would see clear, minds that would think straight, and hearts that would comprehend the essential unity and equal worthiness of all human beings. He inveighed against hatred and vengefulness, self-conceit and deification of one's particular nation, race, or class. He did so, I saw, not only because such emotions are repugnant to God's will for man, but also because they make men incompetent to deal with their human problems. They create those blind masses and those blind leaders who end up together in the pit.

And so it is that, as a result of that experience, I have for the last five years sought the collaboration of Christians, as being those best equipped to solve our practical problems.

I encounter, constantly, the complaint that Christian leadership is too idealistic, too prone to rely upon high motivation without regard to practical limitations. That criticism is often valid. Christianity is no substitute for factual knowledge, practical experience, and tested wisdom.

But it is equally true that factual knowledge and practical experience will not alone solve our problems. It has become perfectly clear to me that it is of first importance to possess the kind of vision that Christian qualities make possible. Given that, the rest can be added.

Because, therefore, our first and greatest need is for minds that can think straight, visions that can see clear, and hearts that are comprehending, I turn to Christian groups.

Now that our nation has become an active belligerent in a desperately fought war, the Christian spirit faces a new challenge. There is a noisy minority which demands that Christian attitudes should be suspended for the duration of the war because, they assert, hatred, vengefulness, and self-righteousness are the stuff out of which alone the spirit of victory can be forged.

Christians in America are not the first to face that challenge. It has been pressed, in perhaps its most acute form, in Germany. The war has produced few documents as moving as a recent pastoral letter of the German bishops wherein, at the risk of their lives, they said:

"We are told that Germans must choose between Christ and the German nation. With burning indignation we decline to make that choice. . . . We are convinced that we are rendering the most precious services to our beloved nation in preserving for it Christ and his doctrine."

Christians in England, under far different circumstances, have nevertheless had to encounter the same thesis. Their decision was unequivocal. They have united, as never before, to assure that victory shall be turned to ends which will serve the cause of human freedom.

I do not doubt that Christians in this country will also hold fast. It is only a stupid superstition that victory depends on evil emotions. Always has that viewpoint been repudiated by our great leaders.

Lincoln rejected hatred and vengeance as the stimulant of war effort, and pleaded that there be malice toward none and charity for all. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, when they met on the Atlantic, sought only to achieve that moral leadership which they recognized as an essential ingredient of victory.

The Atlantic Charter was no hysterical call for hatred, vengeance, and the deification of our own nations. It portrays, calmly, the better world we seek. And that world is one of greater opportunity for all men everywhere, victor and vanquished alike.

The Axis Powers promised a "new order" in Europe and a "prosperity sphere" in Asia. But they sought, as the way to victory, that their people should cultivate a sense of their own superiority, deify their race, hate their enemies, and wreak ruthless vengeance on such as fell under their power.

When victories in Europe and China put their doctrines to the test, the cause of the Axis Powers was doomed. Hatred, vengeance, and self-righteousness are emotions which, cheaply and easily, produce a sense of fervor. But the fervor those emotions produce is spurious and the stimulants which produce it are false stimulants.

Christians may, therefore, continue to invoke the spirit of Christ, confident that what they do in that spirit is no impediment to a victory which will serve the cause of human freedom.

What, practically, shall we do? I here make four suggestions:

1. I deem it of primary importance that the churches should constantly emphasize those spiritual fundamentals which Christ taught and which seem to me indispensable to human advancement.

To discharge that task may seem unspectacular. Superficially it may seem inadequate in relation to the magnitude and urgency of the problems that press upon us. I beg you not to think so. For the indispensable foundation upon which to build is human beings who possess those spiritual qualities.

2. It is, in the second place, essential that Christians should come to see the practical value of putting the Christian spirit to use.

I do not believe that Christ taught people how to see merely for their own self-gratification or even self-

salvation. I think he taught us how to see in order that we would then know better how to act.

I am not one of those who believe that human welfare is advanced by a promiscuous and ill-defined ordering of civic affairs. I believe in a natural and logical grouping of human beings, which apportions the responsibility of promoting their welfare. Self-interest and group interest are, I believe, not to be discarded. But I am confident that self-interest will be served only if it be enlightened self-interest. And if we are to be enlightened, we must have and use those qualities of mind and soul which Christ taught.

3. In the third place, I urge that the churches should make clear the nature of peace, as being something that comes not from fiat, but from a day-to-day way of living.

There cannot, of course, be peace until it has again been demonstrated that the human spirit partakes sufficiently of the divine that it cannot be subdued and enchained by men of violence. That is our first task.

But if the present war is someday to give way to a peace that is durable, its durability will not depend upon any written document: it will depend upon whether or not the Americans and other peoples of the world are willing, in daily intercourse with each other, to exhibit the same type of consideration and understanding that is necessary in any community if its members are to live in harmony.

We can develop that way of living now with the other peoples of the United Nations, not as a war expedient, but as a permanent way of life.

4. In the fourth place, and finally, I approach the question of whether the churches should now commit themselves to advocacy of some particular new ordering of society, such as the League of Nations, Union Now, or World Government.

I believe that any identification of the Kingdom of God with a particular scheme of human affairs leads only to confusion. For any human order is bound to be finite and and fraught with evil.

But there can be little doubt as to these two propositions: first, that the interdependent life of the nations requires some central political ordering so that men's acts will be guided into harmonious channels; second, that every Christian citizen has a duty to learn about this problem and prepare himself or herself to exert informed judgment as to its solution.

If the spirit of Christ cannot be brought into juxtaposition with our human problems, then indeed is our case hopeless. There is but one Saviour, Christ the Lord. His spirit alone can preserve us. Let then the churches draw the world unto them, dispensing Christ's spirit, of which they are the peculiar repositories, thus bringing healing to the nations.

Our Drift Away from Democracy

By Charles S. Slocombe *

THERE has been issued recently a book by the Yale University Press¹ which gives the results of a study of how much classes in a community get together, and how much they don't. The book is terribly statistical, but shows plainly the extent to which the typical American community studied has become stratified much as the old aristocracies of Europe are stratified. We give here some high lights of the data presented by them, and analyzed by us.

Community Groups. People in the community are grouped as the:

- Upper-upper class
- Lower-upper class
- Upper-middle class
- Lower-middle class
- Upper-lower class
- Lower-lower class

The extent to which these classes mix is worked out through association, clique, family, economic, school, church, political, and community groups.

Upper-Uppers vs. Lower-Lowers

We find 1,864 upper-uppers, of whom nearly one third (522) have

no form of contact whatever with people except those in their own upper-upper class. Adding those who consent also to have dealings with the lower-uppers we find a total of 883. Thus nearly half the upper-uppers have dealings with uppers only, some with upper-uppers and some with lower-uppers.

We find another nearly four hundred (399) who condescend to recognize, and have contacts with, the upper-middle class. Thus two thirds of all the upper crust have no direct dealings through association, family, church, political or economic interests with the rest of the community.

Finally, of the upper-uppers, 14½ per cent (272) mix through association, school, church, political and economic activities, and take part in the pursuits of all classes of the community. These few worthy souls of the upper-upper class indeed are the standard bearers of Uncle Sam's democracy and the true advocates of national unity.

Let us take a look at the other end—the lower-lower class. Here we find almost seven times as many as in the upper-upper class, to wit, 12,432. These are at the absolute bottom of the social scale—our poorest and most lowly citizens.

Nearly half of them, 5,579, have

* Personnel Research Federation. A book review and commentary reprinted with permission from *Personnel Journal*, June, 1942.

¹ *The Status System of a Modern Community*, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1942.

no dealings with any others than their fellow unfortunates at the bottom. Another 1,280 have dealings also with upper-lowers. Another 1,420 are permitted to have organized contact also with the lower-middle class.

Thus we find, of the lower-lowers, 63 per cent having contacts with up to the lower-middle class, but the majority (over half) confined to associating with their own lower class only.

These are in about the same proportion as found among the upper-uppers, with about one half upper-uppers associating only with uppers, and a total of two thirds having contacts including only the three upper groups.

We find 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (2,025) of the lower-lowers belonging to association, church, political, and other groups that run through the whole social scale. These ambitious souls meet with the various ranges of the middle class, and with the 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of upper-uppers who are democratic.

Omitting consideration of the middle classes, who typically mix well together, and with both ends of the social scale except the extremes, this about completes the high lights of the picture of a modern community in contemporary American democracy. It is not a pretty picture.

This situation has very obvious dangers, for with a wide separation and close association of uppers with

uppers only, and with a similar wide separation and close association of lowers with lowers only, we are drifting too close to the hated alternatives of Fascism or Communism.

Causes and Remedies

Can we, by a glance at or speculation about the causes of this divorce-ment over the years since the beginning of this century, find what they are, what may be done to arrest this development, and so change to a more healthy condition, without trying to turn the clock back?

Business. In the matter of economics we see the coming of absentee ownership. The owner or head entrepreneur lives far away from the community in which his plant operates. He knows nothing of local problems, conditions, or the mores of the people or his employees. He seldom or never visits the community.

The local superintendent takes his orders, and has his policies laid down, from a distant head office. Often he is not a local man, and seeks his companionship and recreation in some neighboring city. Assistants to the local manager, often also from out of town and expecting to be promoted or shifted at any time at the will of the head office, have no motivation to put their roots down in the community.

The contrast of this with the old-time locally owned and operated enterprise needs no telling. But it

does seem a desirable personnel policy for a corporation to staff its local plants with home-town men, who perhaps in the past grew up in the community, are known to many, and could quickly re-establish themselves as members of the community.

School as a medium of association running across class boundaries is in a similar category. An active democratic part in school affairs should be part of the duties of a local manager.

The church seems not to have been able to withstand the various influences which have increased class separation. We do not feel competent to discuss church policies in this matter. But we feel justified in stating that the church has failed to make use of proper personnel methods of selection and training, such as have been developed in industry, government, hospitals, and social agencies, in developing its ministers.

Faith, a knowledge of the liturgy, and eloquent preaching ability do not guarantee that a parson will represent the church adequately in a community, or that he will build the church into the community as a living force that welds the people into a true association of persons that are, and act and feel that they are, all equal in the sight of God.

In a recent article, Solomon Barkin, of the Textile Workers Union of America, states that unions feel they have a stake in the national welfare and in the success of local

plants, whether under absentee ownership or not, which is equal to that of the owners.

While disclaiming any desire on the part of unions to usurp the true functions of management, per se, he makes a strong plea that unions should join with management (the uppers) in dealing with all possible matters that affect the lives of workers (the lowers). In the terms of this article, he is asking that the class boundary between the uppers and the lowers, in so far as unions represent the latter, be abolished.

The radio and the type of city, state, and national political machine that exists today has practically put politics out of business as a means by which the uppers and the lowers can get together to understand each other and their various interests.

Devastated Democracy

This whole problem of class separation and the saving of our democracy from a drift toward Fascism or Communism, as revealed in the ten years' study of a typical American community by Warner and Lunt, is devastating in its serious implications. Though the book is difficult reading, we think that every personnel man, and indeed every intelligent citizen, should devote to it the time and energy necessary to understand it and its implications, and to think out ways and means of doing his bit to reinstate and preserve democracy in his community and in America.

Reconstruction—America's Problems

A Survey *

An attempt is made in this brief review to suggest an over-all view of the major problems of reconstruction in American life in their relation to war aims and the mood in which the peace is to be made, the purpose being to furnish a framework for more detailed discussion of specific problem areas.

OVER and over again the question has been raised, What are our aims in this war? Attention may well be focused on the pronoun: What do we mean—"our"? For, obviously, however the American people may be united in the purpose to win the war, we are anything but a united people in the ends we wish to achieve by the war.

In America there are at least five groups with reference to war aims, and four of them are well represented in the churches. (1) There are those who have accepted the war with reluctance and with fear lest its social consequences may be revolutionary or at least profoundly disturbing to the economic system. (2) At the other end of the scale are those who accepted the war eagerly but only when the Soviet fortunes became involved. In between are (3) the social liberals who see the war as promising a fulfillment of the ideals of Western democracy and (4) those other liberals whose consciences have been so sensitized to the evils of the "war system" that

they see no possibility of substantial gains accruing from the struggle. (5) At the center are those for whom the war lacks any ethical significance.

Even those who are wholly committed to the war belong in two camps, which may be roughly characterized as the idealists and the realists, in the ordinary meaning of those terms. This means that war aims are divided from the very outset. Unity as to physical aims these two groups have, but as to ethical aims only a continuous struggle on the part of a portion of the people to develop purposes and loyalties that run beyond the objective of physical triumph.

Questions which insistently arise now are these:

Is the "American Century" idea of the *Fortune Magazine* group of writers reconcilable with Mr. Wallace's "Century of the Common Man"?

If the stake of the common man is increasingly accented how long will the more privileged economic classes remain mobilized in spirit for the prosecution of the war?

Can the resources of the nation be

* From *Information Service*, October 10, 1942. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Condensed with permission.

fully mobilized for a long war without reference to the race issue?

If the color line in America is not progressively obliterated, in what mood will the colored peoples of the East, who are vastly in the majority on the democratic side in this war, approach the making of peace and the structuring of the postwar world?

What kind of *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union are we ready to regard as consistent with the sacrifice of millions of Russian lives?

Can the war mood itself be rendered compatible with a "just and durable peace"?

What do we propose to do with our enemies when we have conquered them?

How Shall the Peace Be Made?

Since Pearl Harbor relatively little has been said about a "negotiated" peace. The term has become synonymous in many minds with appeasement. Recently, the proposal has been revived. The alternative to a negotiated peace is, of course, an imposed peace. Whatever the merits of the question it becomes more and more evident that if the United Nations win a decisive victory their primary concern at the end of the war will be to insure that the Axis Nations are left without the power to "do it again."

Does this eliminate the concept of a negotiated peace? Or does it mean that with the destruction of the present Axis regimes whatever re-

sponsible statesmanship those countries can muster will be asked: (1) to accept broad principles definitely prescribing minimum conditions of world order; (2) to collaborate in the implementation of those principles under reasonable sanctions?

In view of the fact that there are more than a score of nations at war with Germany (including the exiled governments) it would seem that there could be nothing other than a negotiated peace unless two or three governments are going to impose terms on the majority of the United Nations as well as upon their enemies. Would it be well, then, to denature that term "negotiated peace" of its connotation of appeasement, or to find some other word that does not signify arbitrary, unilateral dictation?

In view of the peculiarly brutal character of the war policies—not to mention the prewar policies—of the Axis Nations, it may seem futile to raise an issue over a "punitive peace." But if we are to be "realistic" certain questions should be answered, and answered now, to our own satisfaction:

How long can we expect the terms of any peace to endure if they do not, in time, appeal to the sense of justice of the masses of the people concerned?

What is a rational and civilized purpose in punishment—the meting out of "deserts," or the initiation of a process of regeneration? Can we

evolve a conception of power that will not only provide obviously necessary guarantees but progressively eliminate the resentment that the exercise of political power has aroused throughout the history of the world?

These persistent questions must be faced by all who think soberly of the peace.

Closely related to all this is the practical question of the time required to formulate the terms of a peace. The idea has gained much support that the task is too great for one peace conference, that the peace will have to evolve. Here the principal point seems to be the distinction between those elements in a settlement that cannot wait on protracted study and negotiation and those that if quickly disposed of are likely to be badly handled. Should not our first preoccupation be with the establishment of order, and the removal of uncertainty and fear to the greatest possible extent? Policing, sanitation, emergency hospitalization and feeding—these services if efficiently organized and carried out have exciting possibilities. Is it beyond hope that coming in the wake of brutal despotisms, a colossal enterprise in rehabilitation, for which we should have stupendous resources in production and transportation, might simplify to an astonishing degree the process of reorganizing life in the conquered countries and throughout the world? The apex of such an

achievement would be the conversion of that dreaded and ugly instrument, an "army of occupation," into a recognized and welcome benefaction.

The Political Scene

Assuming that this war is correctly characterized as ideological, we are forced, nevertheless, to ask what is happening to the democratic idea. Some would limit democracy entirely to the political sphere. Others see democracy as a broad pattern of living. The democratic idea is clearly of mixed origin.

The founding fathers made much of essential human equality as a foundation stone of government. They seem to have meant by this a spiritual equality derived from man's divine origin. To many it seems that all democracy must rest upon a religious base. If so, what shall be said concerning the many friends of democracy who make no religious profession?

Further, the question arises, What is the democratic process in political life? In the suffrage every voter counts as one, but people vote in parties and great blocs in accord with well-defined group interests. There is much reason to believe that the transition from democracy to totalitarian forms of government is not initiated by the "man on horseback" but by the people themselves, frustrated in an effort to make any other system work.

(Continued on page 26)

“Compulsory Democracy”

By J. Alvarez Del Vayo *

A MOST interesting report that came out of France just before it was entirely taken over by Hitler described the work of some fifteen Study Groups, representing a cross section of French life, which have been meeting for the purpose of formulating a program for the future government of their country. We have heard a great deal about the courageous acts of sabotage and political warfare directed against the Nazi invaders, but very little is known of the discussions going on in occupied countries concerning plans for a future free Europe. The report of the fifteen French Study Groups sheds light on the sort of political and social structure which the Europe of today is looking forward to for the morrow.

These fifteen groups came out of the very soil of France. Among their members were conservatives and radicals, Socialists and Communists, factory workers and university professors, farmers, former municipal employees, and often the pastor of the village, sometimes a Catholic, sometimes a Protestant. The groups met “underground” in spite of all the difficulties of the occupation and the watchfulness of the Gestapo. They took up for discus-

sion concrete subjects, political and economic. And the plans that emerged from these deliberations were sent to London and submitted to General de Gaulle’s National Committee, which in turn sent back to France suggestions to be considered by the Study Groups. At the same time the groups, by employing considerable ingenuity, managed to send outlines of their conclusions to anti-Fascist cells in Belgium, Holland, and other occupied countries with a view to creating a common program for a future free, united Europe.

The plans stipulate, it is interesting to note, that prior to any work of reconstruction there must be promulgated a new “Declaration of the Rights of Man,” to be based on a single fundamental concept: that the people shall have every liberty except the right to deny liberty. This applies both to the international and the national sphere. For example, no nation may carry its right to independence and sovereignty to the extreme of constituting itself a Fascist state which by its mere existence would threaten the peace and liberty of Europe.

In the internal sphere, no party with dictatorial tendencies will be tolerated. A party which advocates a corporative system such as Doriot tried to organize with the co-

* From *The Nation*, November 21, 1942. Used with permission.

operation of the Nazi rulers will be outlawed, and every party will be required to choose its directing body and arrive at its decisions by strictly democratic methods. Never again will France permit such a degrading spectacle as was presented by the Radical Socialist Party in 1938, when, on the eve of the opening of the party convention, all the undesirables of the neighborhood were rounded up and seated as members and then permitted to vote on vital questions of French policy. The new France will permit all the rights that a free man can desire, but not the right to practice Fascism under any guise. This concept has been referred to as "compulsory democracy."

This new idea of compulsory democracy is pushing its way into the thinking of the occupied countries of Europe, which have learned by bitter experience the futility of any attempt to conciliate Fascism. Of the same order of ideas are the tentative plans drawn up by the French Study Groups for a government that will be both representative and strong. They recognize the need, especially during the transition period, of a government which can take a firmer stand against all the elements threatening liberty and order. They realize that

the alternative to a dictatorship on the one hand or chaos and civil war on the other is a government, popularly elected, in which the executive can act swiftly and decisively.

In view of recent developments in North Africa, it is of great interest to examine the position of the Study Groups in regard to the so-called transition period. Many people talk as though all Europe, the conquered countries as well as the aggressors, would have to undergo a period of military occupation. This suggestion is strongly repudiated. Far from believing that France must live under the control of an Allied army of occupation, these groups assume that independent governing bodies will be set up while the struggle for liberation goes on. As soon as a single department of France is free from Nazi control, the French authorities will take over and the people will rule themselves.

It would be a mistake for the Allied armies to interfere in any way with the internal forces of the liberated country. It is highly encouraging that the Americans in their occupation of North Africa promise to act in a way that corresponds to the thinking of the French Study Groups in regard to this last important point.

If democracy is to regain the triumphant note characteristic of the American tradition, that victory will be the reflection of an act of faith on the part of people who still believe in the individual, in his infinite worth, in the infinite riches that come from his self-expression.

Henry M. Wriston in Prepare for Peace.

The Negro in American Democracy

*By A. Philip Randolph **

THE problem of the Negro is a problem of discrimination, segregation, and Jim Crowism in the economic, political, and social life of America. It has its roots in world movement, namely, the slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the exploitation of slave labor in the production of sugar, rice, tobacco, and cotton in the New World.

The Civil War—America's second or bourgeois revolution—was uncompleted, and hence, unlike the bourgeois revolution of nineteenth-century Europe, failed to transform the black slaves into free workers and independent peasant proprietors. Vestiges and remnants of a pre-capitalist era hedge in, circumscribe, and encumber the freedmen, giving them the status of second-class citizens.

The historic mission of the old, classic bourgeois revolution is to achieve a metamorphosis of the social, economic, and political status of the serf or slave. But this can be effected only when the following changes occur:

1. Overthrow of the slave or feudal power and state apparatus.

2. Set up of a republican or democratic form of government.

3. Granting of the right of suffrage to the former slave or serf.

4. Provision for participation of the freedmen in the new government.

5. Establishment of a free public school system.

6. Bestowment upon the former slave of an economic basis for his adventure into the new social order.

When the industrial and financial capitalist economy gained ascendancy over the agrarian feudal slave pattern of production, following the triumph of the Union army over the Confederate forces, the freedom of the Negro slaves was sacrificed upon the altar of an expanding capitalistic economy. In negation of its basic tenets, the Church reflected the dominant economic forces in the American scene and blessed this tragic political opportunism. The Church of the South served as a psychological weapon to whip public sentiment into accepting the second-class civil status of the Negro people, and the Church of the North winked at this bit of religious expediency. Nor has Protestantism or Catholicism or the Republican or Democratic Party of America from Abraham Lincoln to Franklin D. Roosevelt ever seriously challenged this socioeconomic and political racial arrangement.

* International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Condensed with permission from an address before the United Conference of American Co-operative Christian Bodies.

Verily, the Civil War or the main American social revolution fell short of conformity to the typical eighteenth-century revolutionary liberal political scheme of change. Although it broke down the framework and economic power and mastery of the old slave regime, the former slave masters remained as the personnel managers of the absentee Northern and Eastern investment bankers and business entrepreneurs, and proceeded to devise engines of persecution, deception, and oppression to deprive the freedmen of their newly found liberties. We therefore witnessed the rise of peonage or a form of involuntary servitude constituting a well-defined system for freezing the Negro in the status of inferior economic, occupational, and civil citizenship.

Today it is apparent that the South has practically conquered the spirit of America and compelled it to accept its ideology of racism. This is manifest in the position of the Church itself. The white Church of America subscribes to this doctrine in maintaining a religious ceremonial dualism for white and black Christians. As a champion of the principles of Jesus Christ, it has failed and failed miserably. When the test of Christian brotherhood came upon the most humble and the weakest followers of Christ, the Negro people, a corrosive and deadening spirit of complacency seized the entire life of religious America.

Because of this anomalous and incredible policy of the white Christian Church of America, the Government, private industry, and labor unions get extenuation for their delinquency in conforming to the moral law "I am my brother's keeper" when applied to men and women of color. Flagrant instances of this antisocial behavior and unchristian practice may be seen in the position in which the Negro found himself when the present World War began. Then defense jobs and defense training courses were closed to him; government and private industry discriminated against him; trade unions refused him membership; the armed forces gave Filipinos and Chinese first-class status but put Negroes into Jim Crow divisions.

Because of this outrageous violation of democratic practice and principle and the failure of Negroes to secure jobs in the defense industries Negro leaders planned a march on Washington July 1, 1941, in protest of this condition. The March on Washington Movement was supported by the Negro churches of various denominations as well as the Negro workers and professional groups. It demanded an executive order to put a stop to discrimination in defense industries and the Government. Because the executive order was granted the March on Washington was called off but not abandoned. Negroes may yet be compelled to march, not only to stop the poignant

insult to their souls of Jim Crow but also to save the soul of America and help to prepare it for moral and spiritual leadership to preserve world democracy.

Under Executive Order 8802, issued by President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, was established a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which is now composed of seven men. This Committee has held hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Birmingham, Alabama, and plans other hearings for cities in different parts of the country.

As a result of the activity of the FEPC, which investigates charges of discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, a good number of defense industries have employed Negro workers and some of the trade unions have relented in their rigid application of the closed shop contract and permitted Negro workers to secure employment. The committee is handicapped, however, because of two things:

1. It is submerged as a result of an order issued by the President a few months ago, placing it in the War Manpower Commission, under Paul V. McNutt. It is no longer independent with sole responsibility to the President, as it was in the beginning.

2. The question is raised as to the advisability of the Negroes' fighting at this time for their democratic

rights, in view of the war. It is my position, and the general feeling of practically all the Negro leaders throughout the nation, that the Negro must fight against discriminations wherever they appear at this time and insist upon the status of a first-class citizen. We believe that the fight for democracy on the home front is a part of the fight for democracy on the foreign front. It is our position that it is not enough for the United Nations to win a military victory alone, for it is possible for the armed forces of the United Nations to prevail and the Anglo-American empire systems to remain with their old policies and practices of imperialistic oppression and exploitation of the darker races.

We stand for all-out support of the war by the Negro. This he is giving with his lifeblood and treasure. We also stand for a fight not only against Hitler in Europe but Hitlerism in America. The strength of the underpinnings of democracy will make for a stronger national unity in America which will give force and power to our armed forces. Racial discrimination is not only sabotage of the struggle of the United Nations but it is treason to democracy.

What can the Church do to make racial relations better, more constructive and creative?

I suggest the following:

1. The white Church could set aside a week in which sermons could

(Continued on page 27)

Child Care in a Wartime City

A Report

More than 100,000 communities in various parts of the United States are now "critical defense areas," according to the United States Children's Bureau. The need for child care centers becomes more pressing as women are drawn into industry, and the churches are urged to contribute to this enterprise through the provision of room and equipment and the enlistment of volunteer leadership. For the information and guidance of churches eager to participate in this type of community service, a digest of the Philadelphia child care program designed to meet the needs of the typical industrial city, is here presented.

THIS report is a summary of information gathered by the Philadelphia Committee for Day Care of Children, set up at the suggestion of the Federal Children's Bureau by the Council of Social Agencies in January, 1942. In accordance with the recent Directive from the Office of Civilian Defense and War Manpower Commission, the Philadelphia Council of Defense has appointed an operating committee to be responsible for the day care program.

The Need for Day Care

Three hundred thousand women are now working in Philadelphia, 22 per cent of all workers in defense industries are women, and it is estimated that 300,000 more workers will be needed in the war industries in this area. The labor situation is now acute. Nearly all older men, employable handicapped, and rehabilitated civilian workers have now been absorbed, and women will soon form the only potential source of new labor.

"The basic problem of day care for children is a part of the question of labor supply. The purpose of the day care program is to make it possible to employ mothers who need to go to work either because of personal economic reasons or because they are a needed labor force." (Directive No. IX, War Manpower Commission.)

Many community groups such as churches, chambers of commerce, business organizations, industries, schools, and social agencies have sent the Committee information concerning the acute need for the care of children in their particular neighborhoods. These groups are deeply concerned over the "latch key" children, and startling cases of actual neglect and cruelty have been reported. Unsupervised private homes with inadequate facilities are caring for infants and school children. This creates a health problem in defiance of existing state regulations and established standards of child care. Philadelphia's delinquency rate is increasing rapidly and there is a

high rate of arrests among children who lack supervision.

Community-wide Plan

A sound community program must take into consideration the needs of children of all ages and must include the use of all available resources. The Committee is working in full co-operation with the Board of Education and with various recreation groups.

Available Buildings

A number of buildings large enough to be of use for day care centers have been offered to the Committee by interested community groups concerned with this problem.

The Philadelphia Federation of Churches has made an offer on behalf of its members of suitable building facilities which may be available. The Philadelphia Friends Meeting has also indicated its desire to co-operate in the program in every way possible. Buildings in specific locations will be chosen, however, on the basis of concentration of need. (Buildings suggested in the report—as providing suitable accommodations include schools, church parish houses, community centers in housing projects, and elsewhere. It is assumed that necessary renovation costs will be borne by interested community groups.)

It is generally accepted that day care centers must be comparatively small units, located within reason-

able walking distance of the homes and schools of the children, so that mothers can leave their children at the center before going to work and call for them on their return.

Plans are based on a day care unit which could care for 50 children, but it is expected that expansion of individual centers to accommodate more children per unit could be effected in most contemplated buildings.

Standards of Care

Plans for buildings and equipment as well as for the health, training, and education of young children are based on the minimum standards recognized by such authorities as the Federal Children's Bureau and State Departments of Health, Welfare, and Education.

Young children in their most formative years when cared for in groups need sustained supervision by qualified personnel. To insure this a basic staff of paid workers who can be depended upon to be present daily is essential. These should be supplemented by volunteer assistants.

Program

Day care centers would be set up to care for children from 2 to 12 years of age, from 6:30 A.M. to 6:30 P.M., six days a week.

The proposed program is briefly outlined as follows:

(a) For preschool children 2 to 5 years of age: Arrival at the center

as mother goes to work. Health inspection by staff member. Breakfast, if needed. Training in personal habits of cleanliness. Supervised play indoors and out. Midmorning orange juice and cod-liver oil. Dinner. Afternoon naps. Crackers and milk. Afternoon play indoors and out until mothers call for children.

(b) For school age children 6 to 12 years of age: Arrival at the center as mother goes to work. Inspection by staff member. Breakfast, if necessary. Supervision of younger children to and from school. Lunch. Afterschool recreation program until the mother arrives to take the children home.

Budget

The minimum budget, based on accepted standards of child care and upon costs in existing day nurseries, amounts to \$9,861 for each center. The 15 centers, as projected, together with central administration bureau, brings the total budget to \$152,515.

An effort to secure Federal funds on the basis of this budget was made, but it was found that Federal funds will not be available for the operation of day care centers in any community until local public funds have been exhausted. A request for appropriation of funds is now before City Council, and the program awaits its favorable action.

No item is included in the budget for health services, as it is expected that existing public health clinics

and private physicians can be used almost entirely for health services. Food costs have been based upon two meals a day at a cost of 30 cents per child.

Staff

A general administrator to plan and supervise this program—an executive with training in social work or education—is essential.

Salaried personnel of each center would include the following, on a 48-hour week basis: superintendent, head teacher, assistant teacher, recreation worker, social worker, stenographer, cook, janitor, and cleaner.

Volunteers will be of material assistance in the centers. Four volunteers will be needed in each center, daily, to assist the teachers, the recreation worker, and the cook. This would be 60 volunteers at work daily, or 420 a week in the 15 centers.

Parents' Fees

Parents' payments will be based entirely on earnings and number of children in a family to be cared for. When both parents are skilled workers, fees will cover the full cost or more. However, an average of 40 cents per day per child has been estimated, based on a recent study of fees in an existing day nursery.

The Day Care Committee of the Philadelphia Council of Defense presents this program as an immediate war emergency. It should receive the full support of church and community.

For Time

The Second Year

We have entered upon the second year of war. In the light of these past twelve months, what are some of the insights that challenge Christians?

1. What we are fighting *for* is of more lasting importance than what we are fighting *with*. The sound basis for morale is a deep moral purpose; and this purpose must be a sustaining one which will be as relevant and imperative six minutes after the war is over as it is six minutes before.

2. The word "global" has lost its fearsomeness and strangeness as applied to this war, but has it possessed us so that we will think globally in respect to the postwar world? In the past, American foreign policy has been isolationist in times of peace and internationalist in times of war. Has not the time come when Christians must urge that even as America entered into this war, so she must enter into the peace?

3. What meaning do we stand ready to give to the word "freedom"? Are the Anglo-Saxon nations fighting merely to retain the freedom which they presently enjoy, or to extend it as well to others who have not known that freedom? If freedom is good for Americans who are white, is it not equally good for Americans of Negro, Japanese, and Jewish parentage? If freedom is not to be used as an instrument of special privilege, must it not be shared?

4. We are witnessing a new discovery of the importance of the individual. Democracy magnifies the individual in its total war effort, making the fat from our kitchens, the scrap from our cellars, and civilian defense responsibilities from our time, of great urgency. Are we prepared to assume individual responsibility for the democratic process even as we are for the democratic war effort?

5. The war is creating a new American community. Military establishments and war industries inflate social problems far beyond the resources of the average community. Not unemployment but employment of women in industry is causing serious family and youth problems. Juvenile delinquents are among war's casualties. What happens today in home and community involves the spiritual and moral resources that we will bring to tomorrow's world.

6. With more than 60 billion dollars expended this year for war purposes, our national standard of living is still as high as it was in the early thirties. We are demonstrating what we can do as a people when we have a national purpose in respect to our economic life and when we adopt corporate habits

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whereby that purpose is transmuted into needed goods and services. What possibilities this opens up for peacetime when this power of men and machines now poured into war production can be changed to civilian needs! Are Christians ready to sponsor and support basic measures that will set our course toward the use of our full economic resources for undergirding the material basis of the abundant life?

7. More and more, the war is being seen as a symptom of what is in effect a social revolution. It is a sign that we have failed to make far-reaching social adjustments without violence; social changes that, like the world-wide war, are universal in scope. What role should Christians, whose God makes "all things new," take in a time of deep and far-flung social change?

8. The Church stands as ever opposed to and outside of the spirit of hate and hysteria that is so easily bred by war. It feels within itself the insight of the General Assembly of 1917, which declared "that war in itself is irrational, inhuman, and unchristian and that it must finally be abolished by the spiritual forces of international good will." Deeply convinced that the balance of righteousness is weighted on the side of the United Nations, the Church realizes that the desired military victory will not bring peace, but, rather, it will lay the chief responsibility for the making of peace upon the United Nations.

The world-wide fellowship of the Church though sundered by war is united in Christ. The Church has extended its ministry to the men and women in the armed forces and in the expanded areas of a host of communities; to those who out of conscience are in Civilian Public Service Camps; to the many in need of healing and help. In and through all, it has sought to witness to that goodness which is in and of God apart from whose redeeming love man is forever chained to evil, and in obedience to whose righteous purpose history finds its present meaning and its ultimate fulfillment.

**January 1,
1943**

The English writer, R. H. Torney, once said, "The destruction, by the effort to achieve victory, of the moral principles which alone can justify a war is the commonest lesson of history." The maintenance of the spiritual and moral life in a time of war when virtue is made of the necessity for killing and falsehood is indeed precarious. It is a matter of gratification that, as last year, the President has designated the first day of the new year as a day of prayer and its observance should be widespread in churches and homes.

War Service Reporter

Keep Christians Alive

*By Charles Tudor Leber **

MILLIONS in war-torn Europe hunger for: food enough to keep alive starving bodies; medicine and surgical aid to restore physical health and strength; mental stimulus—books, music, occupation for hand and head; companionship with Christians who still care—and show it; courage to continue the fight against terror and desperation; and the spiritual comfort and hope supplied by the Word of God.

Aid to European Churches

During the year 1941 through the emergency gifts of Christian churches in our country relief agencies gave \$671,000 to meet the above "hungers." In the first six months of 1942 a sum of \$525,000 was contributed, almost doubling the gifts. Christians in America are alive to need and daring to believe in preparing now for a new world based on freedom and equality for all men! In 1943 it is estimated that, if contributions totaling \$1,545,000 are given, more than five million people across the world will be touched by this Christian ministry.

* Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The continuing challenge of our war emergency giving relates not only to relieving suffering for the immediate present but to preparing for the period of postwar living. Governments are becoming aware that the time is *now* to begin construction in the "occupied" areas. North Africa alone is but one illustration that dramatizes the fact that postwar reconstruction begins at once. Directors for relief are being appointed by governments to organize now—the Church has been aware of this need and has built a strong foundation on which to strengthen the close fellowship of Christians the world over.

The Church must train personnel and leadership which will be urgently needed:

"Twenty-five foreign students lack clothing means for continuing theological studies Switzerland. Thirteen thousand refugees here more entering daily. Solidarity groups helping pastors new theological seminary and soup kitchens."

This cable from Dr. Adolph Keller in Geneva emphasizes the need to keep the seminaries and colleges open, to care for the young people

preparing themselves for Christian service after the war. Food packets go regularly to 102 Belgian pastors whose immediate families include over 200 children. These men are now leading the Christian Church in opposing the pagan demands of the invader to a degree that has stimulated the admiration of the whole world.

Youth groups in Switzerland have been giving what they call a *Souper de cienteure* or "belt supper," the idea being that one wears a tight belt so that it will not be necessary to eat much. A very light meal is served at a full price, the funds that are left over going to relief. This is a co-operative adventure. Many groups of United States youth have done likewise.

China Relief

War's cruelty is keenest for helpless, starving children. Food, medicine, hospital and orphanage care are needed, and the war emergency gifts are being our relief representatives in China.

Quoting from a cablegram from Chungking we find the alarming situation speaking for itself in its appeal for a demonstration of America's desire for a tomorrow:

"At the mission a few days ago six children were tied to a tree by their parents so they would not follow them as they went in search of food. One mother with a baby and

two older children, tired from the long search for food, sat down to rest under the tree. She sent the two older children to the village ahead to beg a little food. When they returned the mother had died of starvation and the baby was still trying to nurse at her breast. Larger children are being sold for less than ten dollars.

"Sometimes starving families collect all remnants of food in their homes, eat their last meal and then commit suicide. A farmer gathered his family round him, fed them their last full meal, and then told them he had poisoned the food.

"Unless farmers get seed grain within the next two weeks, it will be too late to plant the winter wheat and next spring there will be no harvest either. The Chinese Government is rushing 1,000,000 piculs of seed grain from Shensi Province and the same amount from Anhwei. It is also urging farmers not to eat seed grain, but to plant it, assuring them that supplies for their relief are being rushed.

"The Government has appropriated \$10,000,000 Chinese for direct relief and ordered the Food Ministry to rush seed grain to the threatened areas."

What shall we say to these things? Sympathy? Well—"sympathy is your pain in my heart." And, thank God, the heart of the Church is responding.

Dry Sentiment Grows

*By Charles R. Jones**

THE surprising results in the November election may have been caused, in part at least, by the votes of thousands of mothers and fathers. Although the wet-dry question was not a national issue in any specific sense between the two major parties, many parents by their votes voiced their resentment at the failure of government and military authorities to safeguard their sons from exploitation by liquor interests in and around our Army camps. Senator Lee, of Oklahoma, sponsor of the dry camp bill, was defeated it is true, but Senators Capper, Johnson, O'Daniel, and other stalwart dries were returned to Congress.

The dries have registered smashing state-wide victories in Kansas, Oklahoma, and South Carolina since repeal, and have achieved scarcely less significant success in hundreds of counties and smaller local areas in Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and other states, in the last three years. It would be a mistake, however, to regard this record to date as prophesying an immediate "drying up" of the thousands of overwhelmingly wet communities.

The claim by the wets that the return of prohibition is imminent is

classified by many wets and dries as alarmist propaganda by the liquor interests for the purpose of financing their campaign program to defend the legalized liquor traffic. It is obviously based on the false assumption that the original Prohibition Amendment came suddenly and by smart political maneuvering.

In alleging the menace of an early return of national prohibition, the wets conveniently ignore the fact that the 18th Amendment was achieved after more than half a century of temperance agitation and education had installed prohibition in 2,625 of the 3,200 counties in the United States and completely in 25 of the 48 states.

It is important to remember in appraising present conditions that, although an immense advance has been made in disseminating the results of scientific and social research as to the effect of liquor and the liquor trade on the individual and society as a whole, prohibition legislation is about where it was in 1875.

However, the necessities of war have already brought restriction of liquor production. At the current rate of buying, the normal five years' supply of hard liquor now in reserve may be exhausted in less than two years. If the war is not yet won by then, the alcohol produced by the

* Executive Vice-President of the American Businessmen's Research Foundation, Chicago.

distillers will have to be diverted from the manufacture of powder and rubber to the manufacture of liquors if the country, having "drunk itself dry," is not to remain so.

Despite the attempt of wet spokesmen to minimize the comprehensively organized "straw" samplings of public opinion, it appears that, according to a poll of September this year, made manifestly without dry bias, prohibition of national character is favored by at least 38 per cent of the American people—equivalent to more than 28,000,000 voters. This shows more than 18 8/10 per cent gain in dry sentiment in eight months over a similar ballot taken in February of this year which indicated only 32 per cent favoring a nationwide ban on the liquor trade.

If the war progresses unfavorably the question of diversion of supplies to the brewers may become an issue. The cessation of brewing would then fall into the same category as the stoppage of automobile manufacture, which could hardly be called prohibition.

With the shipping problem to our far-flung armies becoming more acute, the military itself may appropriate space now used in the shipment of beer to the "forces" throughout the world for munitions, foods, and medical supplies. And when beer can no longer be shipped to soldiers overseas, the military may deem it wise, as was done in the last

war, to discourage the taste in American camps.

Today the wets are building their campaign on the apparent truism that if a man makes money out of the liquor traffic he will fight to keep the country wet. Well-supported associations of alcoholic beverage dealers are being augmented, as in the past, by the organization of various allied trades, such as the hotels and restaurant groups.

In addition, a movement is on among certain distillers to popularize moderation. Grants of money have been made for "independent" scientific research for the study of "moderation" as against "immoderation." No survey is being made by them on the value of "total abstinence."

The expenditure of \$250,000,000 in advertising since repeal has failed up to this year to raise liquor consumption to preprohibition heights, but the wets hope they have stimulated certain publications to fight prohibition sentiment.

The dries believe that, aided by scientific and economic facts, they will gradually progress from thousands of smaller to larger communities until a safe majority of the voters favor unified national action. They are determined to achieve prohibition only when it can be demonstrated to be the will of the people and properly expressed by a large majority on the issue.

Reconstruction—America's Problems

(Continued from page 11)

Overshadowing all other political issues, of course, is the collectivist trend and the gradual absorption by government of functions that hitherto have been private. For good or ill we seem to be moving rapidly away from the Jeffersonian conception of government as a protective agency, which should interfere as little as possible in human affairs, toward a welfare theory of government, which makes it an entirely different kind of institution. We must make up our minds whether this trend is inevitable: if so, how the democratic pattern can be preserved; if not, how the tide can be stemmed.

The Economic and Industrial Scene

Staring us in the face is the issue of autarchy—national self-sufficiency and self-containment. We may expect a popular outcry: "Remember rubber! It must not happen again." Mr. Wallace's warning that synthetic rubber might become a disaster to regions from which natural rubber comes seems to have aroused little interest.

The most basic question of all is, of course, how unemployment on a vast scale is to be prevented. Economic and scientific progress during this war period has proceeded at an incredible pace. The reaction of the typical business mind to this fact is that there will be ample enterprise to employ all available labor after the war.

But it must not be forgotten that this phenomenal development is but an accentuation of the technological pattern of our age. The enormous production rate that has now been achieved has been reached despite the fact that so large a part of our man power is in the armed forces. Is there any reason to believe that the seemingly inexorable business cycle will not again assert its baneful influence?

How shall we prevent economic history from repeating itself when millions of men return to peacetime jobs?

In the face of the menace of huge unemployment daring economic theorists, both in and outside the Government, are calling for a national economic policy which will guarantee substantially full employment regardless of market slumps and the hazards to investment both at home and abroad. The attainment of sustained full employment means a frontal attack on the business cycle.

Will business, industry, and private investors accommodate themselves to an economy in which profits are subordinated to the maintenance of employment at all costs?

What will be the role of the co-operative movements in credit marketing and purchasing? Does co-operation on the Rochdale principle present a promising field of exploration for the future?

Can we continue to have credit managed so largely as a financial enterprise or is "finance capital" to be gradually superseded? What is to be the function of the labor unions? Now that the right of organization for collective bargaining has been achieved, in many instances the disciplining of labor power has become a matter of national concern. Can we utilize the labor union principle in accord with the ideal of a functional society, and still protect rights and prevent the abuse of group power?

The Cultural Scene

Under this head fall a great number of noneconomic and nonpolitical issues which have to do with the attainment of the good life. These include the urgent issue of the status of racial groups, the role of the family in postwar America, problems of health, housing and security, the task of education, and a number of other pressing issues which must have their place in the plans for America of the future.

The Negro in American Democracy

(Continued from page 16)

be preached and religious meetings held for the specific purpose of impressing the membership with the necessity of the translating of the principle of Jesus Christ into reality by the employers and workers who are members of the church through the observance of the President's Executive Order 8802, and also with the need for giving Negroes the right to work according to their training and skills and the opportunity to become members of trade unions.

2. Demand the abolition of discrimination of all kinds in the armed forces and in the Government.

3. Cleanse its own temples of the sin of race discrimination, segregation, and Jim Crowism, and thereby make itself truly a "house of God" to minister to the soul and spirit of man, not the white man, the yellow man, the brown man, the black man, or the red man, but Man.

4. Support the anti-poll-tax bill¹ which will be presented in Congress when it reopens; fight for the abolition of the white primaries that obtain in 11 Southern states; give the Negro people the right to exercise their Constitutional suffrage.

5. Call for membership for the Negro people on the peace commission of the United States that will help to make the peace of the world.

Although the South is but one fourth of the population of the United States, it holds fifty per cent of the chairmanships of the United States House of Representatives. It has achieved this under this Democratic administration. Because of a "rotten borough" system made possible by the poll tax and the white primaries, Southern Senators and Representatives are

able to build up seniority and capture the chairmanships of committees.

Witness the control of the South over the Senate today: Chairman of the Appropriation Committee is Carter Glass of Virginia; of Agriculture, Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina; of the most important committee on foreign relations, Tom Connolly of Texas, who with his poll-tax philosophy will be one of the outstanding influences at the peace conference to build a new world for democracy; of the Finance Committee, George of Georgia; of Territories and Insular Affairs, important because of the global character of the war and of the postwar world, Tydings of Maryland; of the Post Office and Post Roads, McKellar of Tennessee.

In the House of Representatives the control of committees by Southern race-hating politicians is distressing: The chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sumners of Texas, who boasted that he would never permit a hearing of the anti-lynching bill as long as he was chairman; of the Ways and Means Committee, Doughton of North Carolina; of Banking and Currency, Steagall of Alabama; of Agriculture, Fuller of South Carolina; of Naval Affairs, Vincent of Georgia; of Military Affairs, May of Kentucky.

These men have the highest contempt for democracy and such democratic institutions as the right of suffrage, trial by jury, right of petition, freedom of press, speech, assembly, unless these freedoms are for white men only. Even the so-called liberal white elements of the South have been subdued by the lynch forces. Thus the need today for the Church to raise the banner for the brotherhood of man and the application of Christian principles without regard to race, color, or national origin! If this war does not achieve racial, economic, political, and social equality for the Negro and all of the darker races, it will have been fought in vain and will be only a prelude to a more terrible war between the colored and white world.

¹ The General Assembly of 1942 recommended study and appropriate actions with reference to legislation for the abolition of the poll tax then before Congress.

Sanctuary

The New Year, 1943

Materials and suggestions for worship are here offered for the use of ministers and leaders of church groups in planning services of worship for the first Sunday of the new year.

WORSHIP THEME:

And Jehovah said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward. *Ex. 14: 15.*

Amid the turmoil of the tempest's din
When systems shake and nations rent in twain
Become a holocaust of fear and sin,
Lord, let us hear Thy still small voice again.
A glorious company of sainted souls
Have stood in every age alone with Thee
To wrest from earthquake's havoc and the coals
A new world and a nobler destiny.
I hear Thee, Lord, above the sound of strife,
More gleaming in Thy greatness than the fire;
Let my small voice in stillness speak Thy life,
Its whisper blending in Thy mighty choir;
And from unstirred quiescence grant release,
That through the noise and fire may come Thy peace.

Georgia Harkness.

THE INVOCATION:

Father, as the old year ends and a new year begins, forgive us for the failures of the vanished days, and bless us in whatever we have truly striven for in days that do not die. Keep us from vain regrets, and let us face forward in the light of the best that we have learned. Purge our hearts both of shallow self-confidence and of cowardly fears, so that we may know that without thee we can do nothing but that in thee all things are possible; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Walter Russell Bowie.

FOR MEDITATION:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; . . . that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . And for the support of this declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The Declaration of Independence.

Everything I know about history, every bit of experience and observation that has contributed to my thought, has confirmed me in the conviction that the real wisdom of human life is compounded out of the experiences of ordinary men. The

utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom; it comes, like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society. A nation is as great, and only as great, as her rank and file.

Woodrow Wilson.

Men and women all over the world are on the march, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. After centuries of ignorance and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in eastern Europe and Asia have opened the books. Old fears no longer frighten them. They are no longer willing to be Eastern slaves for Western profits. They are beginning to know that men's welfare throughout the world is interdependent. They are resolved, as we must be, that there is no more place for imperialism within their own society than in the society of nations. The big house on the hill surrounded by mud huts has lost its awesome charm.

Wendell L. Willkie.

THE SPIRIT OF PRAYER:

"I never expect to hear such a prayer again in all my life. General Chiang Kai-shek began with a simple expression of thanks for their personal safety. Then he added thanks for the courage of the nation under fire. Then he prayed for strength for the men in the field and along the firing lines; he prayed for strength for himself, and added a most earnest plea for guidance and wisdom, that he might not fail the people.

"But the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him, and help China, not to hate the Japanese people. He prayed for the Japanese Christians and all the suffering multitudes of Japan whose impoverishment was making the war on China possible.

"In the simplest and humblest terms he laid himself at the service of the Almighty God, and begged that he might know the divine will and do it on the morrow."

Henry P. Van Dusen.

A LITANY:

For contentment with prosperity and for the love of comfort; for unbrotherly neglect of our neighbor's needs; for letting class divisions mar the unity of our people; for race prejudice; for being proud of ourselves and forgetful of Thee;

O Lord, forgive us.

For our inheritance of freedom; for all that is sound and true in the life of our country; for the opportunity that still is ours to bear a brave part in sharing the world's burdens;

We thank Thee, O Lord.

Thou hast taught us, O Lord, that except Thou dost keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain. We offer these our petitions: That whatever is weak and self-indulgent and self-satisfied may be purged from our lives; that we may count the liberty bequeathed by our forefathers as a heritage to be fearlessly maintained; that the kingdoms of this world may become Thy Kingdom, where Christ shall reign forever and ever;

We beseech Thee, O Lord.

Henry St. George Tucker.

The Workshop

A Nine-Area Project in Syracuse. In May, 1942, the pastor and the director of religious education of Park Central Church, Syracuse, New York, reinforced by some interested laymen, set up nine study groups in as many areas of the city to study the bases of a just and durable peace.

Six leaders were members of the church; three were community leaders. When possible, husband and wife acted together as leaders. In other cases it was found good to have an assistant who could aid in the discussion and if necessary carry on alone. These leaders met once to discuss the setup and subject matter. They met again after the first study group meeting to talk over what had happened and plan for the next time. During all the preparation period the pastor brought before the whole congregation on Sunday and through the church bulletin the need and the value of these studies.

The church membership is widely scattered throughout the city. From a spot map it was relatively easy to locate nine centers. Nine homes were found to house the discussion each week. Nine people were asked to act as conveners. The conveners called by telephone each church family in their area. They also acted as chairmen of the groups to introduce the leader, to make any further arrangements, and to keep records. The conveners did a fine job of telephoning. They discovered facts about those they called. Opinions and attitudes were occasionally expressed which were helpful to the church staff. The advantages of this setup of leaders, conveners, and hostesses was that from the beginning at least four people were actively a part of the study group.

The discussion material was that furnished by the Federal Council of Churches and *The Christian Century*. Naturally the backgrounds and interests of the leaders

were different, so accordingly the discussions varied. It was all informal. Some leaders gave assignments and others turned part of the time over to a person especially competent on a specific point. In every group practically everyone joined the discussion. Members who had not usually participated in the church program came. After two meetings there were requests for more. Unfortunately, the time—late May—and the loss of both pastor and director of religious education stopped the project temporarily.

A final meeting of hosts and hostesses, conveners, and leaders was enthusiastic and vocal. The report showed that 125 people had participated. One hundred pieces of literature had been sold and were known to have been read in many cases. The discussions had centered largely on the postwar economic problems. Many of the leaders expressed a feeling that they were inadequate to discuss what the Church's place was in all this, and what was the Christian way in the changes ahead. Various attitudes and questions on race, Americanization of foreign groups, employers' and employees' relations needed more Christian thinking.

One group elected to carry on through the summer and act experimentally for the others. Leaders expressed the need for more basic material. The suggestion was made that leaders rotate. Mention was made of study groups being conducted on an interdenominational basis, still keeping the neighborhood setup. Though the project was of very short duration many people felt that it was valuable not only for the individual but for the church as an organization. *Reported by Mrs. George C. Cressey, Syracuse, New York.*

The Christian Church and World Order, a Packet Discussion Guide suitable for such a group as this, is described on page 32.

Religion and Labor Fellowship. An interesting experiment in fellowship between members of organized labor and interested clergymen is being carried on in the Quad-City area, which includes Rock Island, Moline, and East Moline, in Illinois, and Davenport, in Iowa. Last spring a small group of men met at the instigation of the secretary of the C. I. O. Union, Farm Equipment Workers 104, to discuss the possibilities of such a fellowship.

As the result of this and subsequent meetings, representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of the American Federation of Labor, of religious groups, and of interested laymen in the Quad-Cities met on May 6, 1942, to organize the fellowship. The meeting opened with introductory statements by a C. I. O. representative and a professor from the Augustana Theological Seminary. After informal discussion the group unanimously approved the organization of "The Labor and Religion Fellowship." The members agreed that the purpose of the fellowship should be to interpret the organized labor movement to organized religion, and to bring the membership of these groups together in a united quest for social and economic justice; that membership should be open to those in sympathy with the purposes of the fellowship upon declaration of their desire to become members.

The Labor and Religion Fellowship has met each month since its organization and the members have shown a great interest. There have been discussions on the social and economic aspects of the Delaware Conference report on the "Bases of a Just and Durable Peace"; on "The Role of Russia in the Present War"; and on the Co-operative Movement and its implications for our postwar economy. All these have received special consideration.

The interesting thing about this Fellowship is that the request for such a group

originated within the ranks of the C. I. O. It has been spoken of as the "most significant and hopeful event of the past twenty-five years" in the Quad-Cities. The members have enjoyed and profited from their fellowship and study together, and look forward not only to a deepened understanding of each other and each other's problems and viewpoints, but also to the mutual strengthening of the groups of labor and religion. *Reported by Gilbert F. Close, Jr., Minister, South Park Presbyterian Church, Rock Island, Illinois.*

On "Co-operation." A reader sends this excerpt from the *Bulletin*, published monthly by the Co-operative Association of Germantown, Philadelphia. We pass it on because it faces frankly the problems of co-operation so important, yet so difficult, in these days of pressure:

In Germantown some of us feel we see developing, slowly and with effort, a new understanding of co-operative principles in committee work. Conflict seems inevitable where people work together. Two methods of handling it seem to be common: (1) open quarreling over differences of opinion, and (2) preservation of a surface harmony till exponents of one or the other opinion can be removed by the social device of making people uncomfortable.

Unfortunately neither of these methods preserves the variety-in-unity which is the stuff of co-operation. But some of us feel we see a third method emerging—a friendly acceptance of the fact of conflict, or conflicting opinion, which prevents its appearance from being either a signal for battle or for disgusted retreat.

When approached in this spirit, the victory or the defeat of a given point of view takes its place where it belongs—as an incident to be accepted in good spirit. So long as we are a democracy there will be repeated opportunity for any idea when the time has come.

Study and Action

World Government

The Christian Church and World Order—A Study Packet, includes the materials used in the Syracuse project described on page 30 of this issue as well as a discussion outline, a worship service, and other reference pamphlets. 50 cents.

Political Action for World Order and Organization for Peace. Two leaflets, the first arranged in a series of statements and questions for discussion with brief comment on each. Useful in planning forum or informal discussions. The second, a brief statement of goals and intermediate steps toward world order. Both are suitable for general distribution. 2 cents each; 50 cents a hundred. Order from SOCIAL PROGRESS.*

A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace—A Symposium. Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City.* 25 cents.

Bricks for Building World Government. 5 cents.

To Prevent a Third World War—World Government. 3 cents.

Three Episodes in American History, by Vernon Nash. Dramatic sketch for program or radio use. 10 cents.

The Unfinished Business of 1918. A conversation about world government for program or radio use. 10 cents.

Toward World Government, by Henrietta Roelofs. 15 cents.

It Must Be Done Again, by Vernon Nash. 15 cents.

Should a Federal World Government Be Established? Town Meeting. 10 cents.

Teaching War and Post-War Problems—A Teacher's Guide for the Study

of Today's Problems. 15 cents. Public Affairs Committee and Foreign Policy Association.

Order from National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.*

Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now? Transcript 229.

Political Reconstruction—Transcript 230.

Economic Requisites of a Durable Peace—Transcript 231.

The Challenge of the Four Freedoms—Transcript 232.

Order these University of Chicago Round-table Broadcasts from: New Tools for Learning, Room 6333, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. 10 cents each; 5 for 25 cents.*

Social Hygiene in Wartime

Social Hygiene Takes Battle Stations and Your Guide to Social Hygiene Day Materials. Social Hygiene Day, February 3, 1943. These leaflets help in planning radio broadcasts, film showings exhibits, and press publicity. The American Social Hygiene Association, 1790 Broadway, New York City. Free.

Child Care Centers

The Church—Social Sanctuary for Children. A leaflet reprint from SOCIAL PROGRESS, November, 1942. Discusses the program for centers for children of working mothers and the contribution the Church can make. Order from SOCIAL PROGRESS.—Free.

A Children's Charter in Wartime. 5 cents.

For Our Children in Wartime—A Program of State Action. Free.

Standards for Day Care of Children of Working Mothers. 10 cents.

To Parents in Wartime. 5 cents.

Order from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.*

* Please enclose remittance with order.

About Books

Man Discovers God, by Sherwood Eddy. Harpers. \$2.50.

What God reveals, man has the job of discovering. In Dr. Eddy's recent book he writes on the discovery side of what men have learned about God. In a work remarkable for its scope and research the author carries the reader through Plato and the Platonists, the prophets of Israel, the New Testament writers, Saint Augustine who synthesized Hebraic and Hellenic thought, the mystics, the Protestant reformers, the scientists, other contemporaries and near-contemporaries, with finally a chapter on "Our Discovery of God."

In addition to the wealth of biographical material found in this book, the reader is also given a working confidence in his own ability to discover what God has revealed for him. Those who were on the verge of thinking that a wholesome belief in God had become unfashionable will have reason for revising that opinion after reading Sherwood Eddy's comprehensive investigations of how men have discovered God in all ages. E. F. Z.

The Christian's Duty and Kindred Sermons, by Robert Worth Frank. Revell. \$2.00.

This book takes its name from the first chapter. But the whole work throws additional light on the meaning and obligation of the Christian life. Dr. Frank combines a brilliant mind and ability to express himself with a warm evangelicalism that adds materially to the convincingness of his messages.

Those who hear or read Dr. Frank get the impression that the thing which he is preaching can be practiced. His range of reading is as wide as the best literature of all ages, and his insight into the Scriptures enables him to balance the different

parts so that he is kept from going on to any of the alluring detours that so frequently entice writers and speakers.

Reading these sermons and addresses reinforces confidence in the gospel of Christ, both as a way of salvation and as a way of living. If we separate salvation from life we get a very skewed presentation of the gospel. Readers will have their choices on favorite chapters in this book, but many will certainly vote for Chapter 15, "The Invasive Goodness," which is a Christmas sermon. Those who judge a man's preaching by his emphasis on the social gospel will find plenty of material in this volume to suit their needs. It is the hope of this reviewer that Dr. Frank will find the time and the urge to write more books. E. F. Z.

The Bible and Our Social Outlook, by Abraham Cronbach. Riverdale. \$2.00.

How much expository preaching is there today? By any test, not enough. How much understanding of the rich social context of the Bible is revealed in preaching? Again, not enough.

This book, written by a professor in the Hebrew Union College, goes far to help to supply this lack. To be sure, he writes of the Bible of the Jew—the Old Testament; but within that restriction, the author speaks with insight and power, thus broadening our understanding.

This is not a treatise on the social background of the Old Testament, a treatment which often leaves unrelated the background and the Bible. Rather, here the Old Testament is, itself, seen as a living, social document, its people involved in such matters as land tenancy, poverty, and indebtedness; and their prophets, lawgivers, and religious leaders dealing with these issues in the light of their religion. Texts and themes for old-age pensions,

land reform, foreclosures, sharecropping, civil liberties, delinquency are indicated. And the Biblical treatment of such social concerns of deep human import is joined to a discussion of their manifestation in the contemporary social situation.

C. P. H.

We're in This with Russia, by Wallace Carroll. Houghton, Mifflin. \$2.00.

Former head of the United Press office in London, Wallace Carroll writes two thirds of this book in a reporter's newspaper style. In the first section he reviews the events before Russia entered the war. As correspondent in Geneva while Litvinov was the Russian Foreign Minister, he came to believe in Russia's sincere desire for peace. In London during the Munich days and for the first years of the war, he decided that Chamberlain's inept bungling was in large measure responsible for the Soviet-Nazi pact.

In the second section of the book, Mr. Carroll gives a graphic picture of his visit to interior Russia as well as the battle-front, a view important to an understanding of the morale of the Russians which frustrated the German advance.

The third portion of the book is the most important. As a trained, objective observer of the European scene for twelve years, Mr. Carroll brings valuable information in regard to the prospect of peace and the future of our age in relationship to Russia. If one of the conditions which brought about the present conflict was the exclusion of Russia from the conference tables of Europe, he says, there will be no such exclusion after this conflict; nor will any postwar decisions be made without Russia.

"After this war," says Mr. Carroll, "Russia will have all the industrial building of a great nation to do, plus the rebuilding of the devastated areas. The Soviets not only want a stable peace but need it as much as any power." Therefore, Russia

will aid in any postwar rebuilding program. Many people fear there will be a revolution in Europe when peace comes. Carroll is very logical in this matter. Since Hitler represents the limit to which a revolution can go in one direction, any revolution or adjustment in Europe after this war will be in the other, toward closer cooperation with the Soviet Union.

America and Russia will have to work together with respect for one another's institutions. Together, the writer believes they can end the threat of war.

JOHN FIELD MULHOLLAND

Patterns of the Mind, by Lynn Harold Hough. Harpers. \$1.50.

Contemporary American thinking receives a keen and critical examination in this excellent small volume by the dean of Drew Theological Seminary. Lynn Harold Hough has done a unique, thoroughly original, and greatly needed piece of work in writing this book. He finds the answer to our present world situation in the patterns of mind which have determined the thinking of our people. Some persons, he says, approach life without any pattern; theirs is a serious plight. Some have a pattern but do not know how to use it; they are confused by the issues of life. Others are following a false pattern and consequently are going astray. Yet others have patterns that are incomplete and hence live fragmentary lives. Finally there is a minority who have the Christian pattern with its emphasis upon God's search for man. This design for living is based upon two major assumptions; God has spoken and God has come. The words of God and the acts of God are its bases.

Dr. Hough does much to reveal the inadequacy and inaccuracy of our thinking. He shows how we mistake emotional satisfaction for intellectual acumen. He sharply refutes the all too popular idea that progress is inevitable. He indicates how we are prone to submit ourselves to

the grip of social indignation without any very real social understanding. For example, William Lloyd Garrison evidenced a blazing social indignation as did also Abraham Lincoln, but for the latter this indignation was but a part of a much larger pattern of thought which included the past, present, and future welfare of the whole nation. It was his devotion to that larger pattern which made Lincoln truly great.

Genuine mental stimulation awaits all who read this scholarly book.

FRANK L. REARICK

Christian World Action, by O. Frederick Nolde. Muhlenberg Press. Paper, 40 cents.

This little book was prepared for use as an elective course in the Young People's and Adult Departments of the Sunday Church School and as a guide for discussion in special interest groups in the church and community. It likewise provides material for the individual who is intelligently seeking a way in which Christians may make a contribution to world order. The thirteen chapters include such subjects as "The Church in the World Today," "The Church and Peace," "Movements Toward Peace," "How Peace Is Made," and discussions of the economic, social, and political aspects of peace. A good amount of source material on peace is incorporated from Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points to the Atlantic Charter, including selections from the statements of the Oxford, Malvern, and Delaware Conferences. The study procedures throughout are good. The book is written on the level that will be most useful in the average, nontechnical group. Its basic philosophy is sound.

The book is written to "stimulate people to think internationally and ecumenically," and "to prepare them to act intelligently when the opportunity for action arrives." It achieves that aim in a workable and usable fashion. It will not take the place

of larger, more comprehensive studies of the subject that are being written today, but as a study guide it should prove to be very useful.

WILLIS LAMOTT

Christian Missions in Today's World, by W. O. Carver. Harpers. \$2.00.

This book is short but filled with many stimulating and suggestive facts. The author is professor of missions at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, and the content of the book was first presented in the form of lectures before the Annual Pastors' Conference of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and also at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Texas. These two audiences are kept in view throughout the book. The effect is a restatement in nontechnical terms of problems that have been under consideration by missionary leaders for the past decade. And this is much needed today. The author's viewpoint is that of a warm evangelicalism combined with the social and international insights so necessary for a consideration of his theme. The chapter headings indicate very clearly the scope of the book: "Christianity Among the Forces Making History"; "Christian Missions Facing Today's World"; "Christianity Redefining Its Function"; "Problems of Relation"; "Can Christianity Accept Its Call for Today's World?"

It would be interesting to discuss at length Dr. Carver's interpretation of Christianity in the historical process and as a force in the world of today and tomorrow—his criticism of Dr. Hocking's conception of Christianity's function in the world is especially good—but that is not possible in a review of this length. A number of new insights emerge which may well be kept in mind as Christians try to think through the place their faith should play in building a new world.

Dr. Carver does not look to a revolutionary change in the methods and ob-

jectives of missions, except as these will come as "actual Christianity itself is cleansed and made comprehensive of the grace and the righteousness of God."

WILLIS LAMOTT

The Unknown Country, by Bruce Hutchison. Coward-McCann. \$3.50.

Americans who read this book are going to understand their neighbors to the north with a new sympathy and liking. Bruce Hutchison, political reporter and writer, has traveled widely both in the United States and Canada. He knows his country and what it is about that country which his neighbors to the south would like to know.

Many will enjoy the short introductory prefaces to the chapters more than the chapters themselves. The author has a gift for describing the coming of spring in hauntingly beautiful language; epitomizing the flavor of a vicinity in a vivid and dramatically told incident; or discovering the significance of life in the flight of wild geese. These poetic insights, not only into life in Canada, but life anywhere, will be read and reread when the chapters have been put aside.

Mr. Hutchison marks the difference between Canadians and Americans: "Canada is different because the mark of the frontier is still plainer on us, because we are still a little closer to the soil and the forest, a little poorer and more simple and unsophisticated; less brittle, less jumpy, and not so clever." He does not describe our past relationships as all sweetness and light. "We are closer because we have quarreled and have seen the folly of quarreling," he says.

There is history in this book implicit in the stories the author tells and in the descriptions of the men he admires. The little old lady on the bus who talks about the ugliness of modern life says: "But the ugliness on the surface is only a symptom of something else underneath. . . . It is

unhappiness. We are ugly because we are miserable. A happy people produce beautiful things." He describes John W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, as the greatest Canadian of his time who has gone on believing with a fierce religious conviction in the rights of the ordinary man. The author puts the purpose of Canada in the present war in these blunt terms: "Canada is fighting the war for the joint rights of society and the guaranteed rights of the individual who quarrels with it."

Here is a book to help us in these days when we are trying to understand each other better. It is history, contemporary politics, sociology, economics, poetry, biography—all the interesting sides of a polyglot people delightfully told.

EVELYN LUCHS

We Prisoners of War, Edited by Tracy Strong. Association Press. \$1.00.

Zechariah's phrase "prisoners of hope" may well be applied to the sixteen Englishmen whose essays, written in a prison camp of southern Germany, comprise this unique volume. Not written for publication, these papers were submitted in an essay contest sponsored by one of the Y. M. C. A. secretaries who carry on a valuable ministry in the prison camps of both sides in the present war. They were so unusual that Tracy Strong, General Secretary of the War Prisoner's Aid Committee of the "Y," obtained permission from the men themselves and from the Governments of Germany and Great Britain to have them printed. No changes were made or suggested by military censors.

These men give serious thought to the coming world order and have practical suggestions to offer. Through all their experiences runs a wholesome spirit of soul-searching and reflection without any touch of hatred, bitterness, or cynicism. Listen to this: "When we were captured, all our material purposes were cut short of fulfillment; but how worth while, if we, like St.

Paul, though behind prison bars, can find freedom of mind and soul and a purpose in life"; or this: "He decided that, in many ways he had never been happier, though life was harder than ever before. . . . It seemed to him this new experience resembled having just been born again"; or "A crust of dry bread has a flavor unbelievable to the well nourished." The triumphant message of these men and of this book is summed up in this: "The price paid for these Christian learnings has been and continues to be great, but few, if any, so far are morally worse for their incarceration and many are better."

JOHN P. McCONNELL

No Day of Triumph, by J. Saunders Redding. Harper & Brothers. \$3.00.

Mr. Redding was commissioned by the University of North Carolina to mingle with the Negroes of the South and to write what he saw and heard. The result is this book, with an opening section on his own life as a member of a middle-class Negro family in Delaware.

Mr. Redding has written a book of many parts. It is an odyssey wherein we "discover America." It is an autobiography told with fine artistry. It is a series of striking case histories of all sorts of Negroes. Among the many characters are a college president, communist, share-cropper, doctor, and others. It is a portrayal of what the Negro today is doing and thinking, a picture that is frank and ruthless, especially as to the intelligentsia and middle-class Negro. And above and through all, it is writing by one who is superb in the handling of narrative and dialogue and in his mastery of words.

This book is a social document written with high literary competence. If it shows up the sterility of the privileged groups, it also shows the Negro as matured, for self-criticism of such insight and temper is indeed a sign of maturity. These several aspects are revealed in the following: "The

traditions by which they lived were dried like husks. They clung to a tradition of freedom and of democracy, and not these themselves. Freedom was for them a thing of lineage, of ancestry—a free father, grandfather, great-grandfather. And one thing about a tradition is that it is the form of a thing completed and finished. But freedom is not a finished thing. Democracy is not. That is why I saw so much pain, so much groping, so much growing." C.P.H.

Ill Fares the Land, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. \$3.00.

The national war effort has not solved in any lasting way the social problems that pressed us as a people before Pearl Harbor. Tenancy, migrants, the industrialization of agriculture, and seasonal labor are part of the unfinished business before the people of the United States. In his previous volume, *Factories in the Field*, Carey McWilliams wrote of the "whither" of those who travel on U. S. Highway 66; in this volume, *Ill Fares the Land*, he tells of the "whence" of those who, in truth, are to be found upon most of our highways.

A reading of this volume invokes a query, "How well do I really know my state? Has it a seasonal crop—cranberries, or melons, or sugar beets, or some other? Whence come those who harvest these crops? What provision is made for them and their families? What migration within my own state or neighboring state is under way because of the industrialization of agriculture?"

This is the geography of our farm labor situation. It is to be found in New Jersey as well as in California. It presses upon Michigan as well as upon Texas. We follow a migratory swing that takes us to the Western states and north along the Atlantic Coast. In truth "Oakie" more properly stands for Americans who are the bitter fruit of "Our Agricultural Revolution." C.P.H.

Facts and Figures

The Church Redeems a Pledge!

Since October contributions for the support of 125 young Presbyterians now in Civilian Public Service camps have spurted upward in a greater than 600 per-cent increase. Previously receipts had averaged \$182 per month, but in a recent 30-day period \$1,190 came in from interested individuals and churches across the country. Sessions are sending in benevolence money in amounts ranging from \$5 to \$50. Many an accompanying letter reads like the one from a chaplain: "I am not a pacifist, but I believe in the right of Christian conscience and think our Church should be doing all in its power to let our conscientious objectors know that we stand behind them with fellowship and support."

Cleveland Presbytery and Philadelphia North Presbytery have passed resolutions to such effect in recommending the cause to their people. Not a few committees on Social Education and Action are similarly gaining widespread consideration of our C.P.S. situation.

This upsurge in interest has come about through the activity of The Council for Presbyterians in Civilian Public Service in distributing 8,000 copies of the descriptive leaflet, *Redeeming a Pledge*. Requests quickly exhausted the first printing, but a second printing is just off the press and available in any quantity from the Council Secretary, Ralph Norman Mould, 6135 Greene Street, Philadelphia. The Council is an informal group organized during September last with 35 minister members chairmanned by former Moderator William Lindsay Young. Though it contains all shades of opinion about war its sole basis is the guarantee of the right of conscience among Presbyterian youth in wartime.

The Council co-operates fully with the Office of the General Assembly which was delegated to receive C.P.S. support

funds by the 1940 General Assembly.

Personal or church contributions should be sent to: The General Assembly Office, 514 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

Woman Power Mobilization. Postponement of woman-power mobilization until man power has been "thrown completely" into the war effort was urged recently by Francis W. McPeak, of the Department of Social Welfare of the Washington Federation of Churches.

Declaring that mobilization of women into war work would cause serious family maladjustment, Mr. McPeak pointed out that there are some 6,000,000 underemployed colored men in the country who should be employed at their top skills before mobilization of women. Where mothers must seek employment from economic necessity, Mr. McPeak urged that day care for their children be provided.

"Some people state they fear that such care is a state usurpation of the parents' rights," he said. "They ought to remember that in wartime the children's right to their parents is usurped." He cited the increase of juvenile delinquency as being caused in part by this situation.

Child Care a Critical Need. More than one thousand communities in various parts of the United States are now "critical defense areas," according to the U. S. Children's Bureau. All citizens are urged by the Bureau to "join together to guard children from injury in danger zones; protect children from neglect, exploitation, and undue strain in defense areas; strengthen the home life of children whose parents are mobilized for war or war production; conserve, equip, and free children, of every race and creed, to take their part in democracy."

Churches are urged to help in four ways

in addition to their regular program of education: Assist the community to secure foster homes for the youngest children and for those for whom nursery care is obviously undesirable; provide nurseries for the preschool-age children; arrange systematic recreation and supervision for school children; help in the organization of health clinics.

Combat Juvenile Delinquency. An epidemic of juvenile crimes has focused attention upon what was apparently a deficiency of moral training. A survey, instituted by the New York State Council of Churches, also revealed that not more than 275 of the 700 students in the community were receiving regular religious teaching in the churches. As a result of this report, an unusual community-wide project in released-time religious education has successfully completed a trial semester at the new Cato-Meridian Central Public School near Syracuse, New York, and is now functioning on a permanent basis.

Enlisting the active aid of the community's clergymen—Protestant and Catholic—leading laymen, and educators, the project provides for the holding of Bible classes within the school building, has secured the complete co-operation of the teaching staff, and is regarded as a principal deterrent to juvenile delinquency.

National Lottery! Congressman A. J. Sabath, who sponsors the plan for a national lottery in the House of Representatives, argued for it in the November *American Magazine* as a means of reducing direct taxes and of winning the war. "Every ticket would be a contribution to victory," he said. This dual appeal to personal self-interest and to patriotism and idealism will win the support of the thoughtless. The superficial plausibility of his arguments together with the recent increase and spreading of race-track gambling indicate

the necessity for our being on the alert. The responsibility for opposition will rest largely upon the Protestant churches.

Mr. Sabath claims for his plan that "it offers the opportunity of winning for a one-dollar investment as much as \$62,500 in cash or \$125,000 in War Certificates." He does not refute the charge, which he says will be made, that this means "putting the Government into the gambling business." He attempts to discount it on the grounds that "methods we would not think of employing under peace conditions may become necessary in war."

Let's All Go to Church. Go to Church Sunday was promoted in the city of Sharon, Pennsylvania, by the Sharon United Church Advance during the latter part of October. Wide community support marked this occasion. Following the mayor's proclamation, action was taken in support of the movement by businessmen's service clubs, labor organizations, and the Chamber of Commerce. The resolutions passed by these community groups were all in substantial agreement with the labor groups which said in part:

WHEREAS the world has offered a choice between the "Gospel of the Gestapo" and the "Gospel of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," and,

WHEREAS the Christian leaders of America are co-operating as never before to assure the most effective promotion of the worship of God and the teaching of Christian truth, . . . we recognize Christian ideals of justice and mercy, of peace and good will, as essential to the achievement of worthy democracy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED . . . that we urge all members of our organization, all friends of labor, and all those concerned for the building of a better world to go to church, and to give sympathetic co-operation to the efforts of our churches and synagogues to achieve increased attendance and spiritual results.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

Journey for Margaret—with Robert Young, Laraine Day. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) This real and touching war picture is based on William L. White's book with its factual account of bomb-torn England. In the film an American correspondent in London during the early Nazi raids goes to Anna Freud's shelter for war orphans and there finds two inexpressibly appealing children. With great difficulty he gets them out of England and brings them to his peaceful Connecticut home. A carelessly handled romantic story is superimposed on this semifactual account, but it is forgotten in the despair of the children in a terrifying world. The film's strength lies in its unaffected presentation of scenes and emotions whose usual treatment has been sentimental and melodramatic. **Family.**

The Black Swan—with Tyrone Power, Maureen O'Hara. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) This is an old-fashioned, swashbuckling story of pirates and the Spanish Main based on the novel by Rafael Sabatini and filmed in vivid technicolor. The acting is in the grand manner and in the spirit of the original story. The sea battles and hand-to-hand fighting seem far removed from the terrific exploits of the present war. All in all, it is a colorful, exciting, and romantic picture. Good of its kind. **Mature—Family.**

Valfangare (Whalers)—with Allan Bohlin, Tutta Rolf. (Scandia Films.) The Norwegian whaling industry provides the background for this interesting film. There is a love story too, but the American audience will find the scenes of the actual whaling more interesting, especially the shots of the harpooning and the landing of the big animals. English titles make it possible to follow this action quite satisfactorily. **Family.**

American Empire—with Richard Dix, Leo Carrillo. (United Artists.) The story of two Civil War adventurers who establish a cattleman's empire in Texas, acquiring vast landholdings and herds of ownerless cattle following the war. Although there is a fresh plot angle on this little-known historical situation, an unimaginative script fails to make much of this. But in spite of this lack fine settings, good acting, plenty of action and a spectacular climax make this an interesting film. **Family.**

The Avengers—with Ralph Richardson, Deborah Kerr, and Hugh Williams. (Paramount.) An English drama of Nazi action in Norway just prior to and after the Quisling betrayal. The film portrays the tense excitement of the invasion, the development of Anglo-Norwegian relations, and the spirit of the Norwegian people. The film is unfortunately weakened by unnecessary scenes and melodramatic action that detract from the actual events. Shots of the Commando raid on the Lofoten Islands have been skillfully worked into the story, however, and these give reality to a film otherwise rather theatrical. **Family.**

Lady from Chungking—with Anna May Wong. (Producers.) The story of a Chinese underground movement against the Japanese invaders. It is exciting in spots, but generally the situations are trite and the characterizations exaggerated. The main theme of the picture, however, is interesting and some scenes are moving. **Family.**

Army Surgeon—with James Ellison, Jane Wyatt, and Kent Taylor. (RKO.) A film on the much-used nurse-doctor romantic theme, without distinction of treatment or acting. Scenes deal with front-line operating stations during the last war, and occasional emotionally tense moments lend interest. The film, however, seems to fall just short of dramatic significance. **Mature—Family.**

George Washington Slept Here—with Jack Benny and Ann Sheridan. (Warner.) The story of the conversion of an old colonial farmhouse into a dwelling place provides the background for a howling farce with much slapstick and absurd adventures and situations to which such a setting would lend itself. The film is entertaining and good of its kind. **Family.**



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